Brand Memories in Consumer Autobiographical Memory: A Qualitative Inquiry

Nilanthi Ratnayake
Coventry University Business School, Priory Street, Coventry, CV1 5FB, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)2476 888496
Email ratnayab@coventry.ac.uk

Amanda J. Broderick
Durham Business School, Durham University, Mill Hill Lane, Durham, DH1 3LB, United Kingdom
Telephone: +44 (0)191 33 45454
Email amanda.broderick@durham.ac.uk
Abstract

Although consumer brand decisions are primarily influenced by prior experiences via memory, the emotional quality of memories has received little attention in memory research. Literature has focused on investigating semantic brand knowledge memory (SM) rather than affect-associated autobiographical memories. Yet autobiographical memory (AM) may be more influential to brand decisions as it stores personal, affective memories, associated with the self-construal, that perform the key social function of relationship maintenance and development. Brand-related autobiographical memory (BRAM), which is affective brand image(s) retained in personal memory, is proposed to address the calls for research on emotional brand relationships. The paper investigates the existence of brands in AM and SM and its impact towards brand relationships and commitment, taking a qualitative approach. Twenty-two informants with diverse characteristics participated in the study. Findings suggest that brand episodes exist in AM are more influential towards brand commitment. The study identifies the importance of AM in consumer behaviour and enhances our understanding on consumer learning process.

Key words: brand-related autobiographical memory, brand-related semantic memory, brand relationships, affect, brand commitment
INTRODUCTION
Although consumer decisions are largely influenced by prior experiences via memory (Bettman, 1986; Mantonakis and Whittlesea, 2008), the emotional quality of memories has received little attention to date in memory research (Braun-LaTour, Grinley and Loftus, 2006; Filipp, 1995; Ulich, 1995). Studies in consumer research evidence the influence of consumer memory on brand choice, yet literature has focused on investigating semantic brand knowledge memory rather than affect-associated autobiographical memory perhaps due to the pre-eminence of the ‘rational consumer decisions’ paradigm (Butler and Berry, 2001; Coates, Butler and Berry, 2004). Autobiographical memory (AM), however, may be more influential to brand decisions as it stores personal, affective memories, associated with the self-construal and performs the key social function of relationship maintenance and development (Alea and Bluck, 2003; Summerfield, Hassabis and Maguire, 2009).

Among the three dichotomies related to the human memory system (Mantonakis and Whittlesea, 2008; Mantonakis et al., 2008; Markowitsch, 2008; Tulving, 1985), the episodic/semantic memory is predominant in consumer research which distinguishes between the preservation of episodic detail and context of prior experiences from the preservation of context-free, abstract summary properties of those experiences (Mantonakis and Whittlesea 2008, p.78). Correspondingly, information about consumer brand experiences may be stored as episodes in the AM and/or as abstract brand knowledge in the semantic memory (SM). A range of drivers formulate brand associations in memory (Keller, 1993). These brand associations can be stored in consumer memory in two ways; context-free factual brand information (i.e. benefits and characteristics) in the semantic memory (BRSM) and contextual episodic details about personal experiences in AM, conceptualised as Brand-related Autobiographical memories (BRAM). Based on how consumers retain brand information in these memory systems is an important marketing issue because it may influence one’s post purchase behaviour such as brand relationships and commitment.

In particular, AM, the core of episodic memory which deals with personal events (Gilboa, 2004; Nelson, 1993) has been researched extensively in psychology and medicinal sciences and been found to have a profound impact on day-to-day life (Addis and Tippett, 2004; Conway et al., 2005). Although it has received less attention in consumer behaviour research in comparison to semantic memory (Baumgartner, Sujan and Bettman, 1992; Keller, 1987; Sujan, Bettman and Baumgartner, 1993), as a distinctive memory system with the central features of self-relevance and affect, AM may have more relevance and influence towards consumer post-purchase decisions such as brand relationships.

Thus, the objectives of this paper are twofold; 1) to discover how brands are represented in autobiographical memory and semantic memory, and 2) to identify the behavioural implications such as brand commitment and relationships as a result of recollecting brand information from these two types of memories. The study contributes to the theoretical debates surrounding consumer learning through brand-related experiences, marketing education by means of greater exploration of AM and brings perspectives for exploring a new research area on brand memories and relationships.

CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS
Memory Systems in the Human Brain
Although early literature considers memory as a unitary system of representations, evolving behavioural and neuro-scientific work classifies it into separate sections (Welze and Markowitsch, 2005). There is a principal division between short-term and long term memory (Cowan, 2000) and an ongoing debate towards the diversity of long-term memory systems (Kelly and Jacoby, 2000; Tulving, 2002). The division between declarative system and non-
declarative system is prominent. As Squire and Zola (1997), declarative memory is seen as being represented and retrievable consciously, and as being made up of a memory for facts (semantic memory) and another one for events (episodic memory). Non-declarative memories are classified into procedural memory, priming memory, and associative as well as non-associative conditioning. Tulving (1995, 2002) and Tulving and Markowitsch (1998) make a primary distinction between one short term and five long term systems, which are called episodic, semantic, procedural and priming and perceptual. Procedural memory mainly consist of motor skills (driving a car, riding a bicycle, skiing), but also includes further behaviours that are recalled from the memory store, and remain automatic and thus basically unconscious or habitual. Priming refers to a higher probability of re-identifying stimuli that have been perceived unconsciously on a previous occasion (Tulving, 1995, 2002; Tulving and Markowitsch, 1998).

**Autobiographical Memory (AM)**
The autobiographical memory is defined as “specific, personal, long-lasting, and (usually) of significance to the self-system or forms one's personal life history” (Nelson 1993, p.8). This is also known as personal memory (Brewer and Pani, 1983) or self-defining memory (Blagov and Singer, 2004). Autobiographical memory relies on complex interactions between episodic memory contents, associated emotions and a sense of self-continuity along the time axis of one's life history (Piefke et al., 2003). Conway et al. (2001, p. 496) emphasised that “autobiographical remembering is a dynamic process extended in time and present in particular brain regions at different periods during memory construction.” This experience of remembering is in direct contrast to the experience of ‘knowing of’ and event, which is more semantic in nature than episodic (Tulving, 1983; Tulving, 1985). The self-referring nature of AM is the most significant feature that separates AM from other types of memory systems (Brewer, 1986). Conway and Tacchi (1996) and Robinson (1986) have also posited that AM and the self are essentially related. Personal memories of this nature affect current life satisfaction as memories have the capacity to affect people’s emotions and satisfaction levels. Another central feature of AM is its relationship to emotion and vividness (Markowitsch, 2003; Cui et al., 2007) that may influences one’s future decisions more strongly.

**Brand-Related Autobiographical Memory (BRAM)**
In extant studies, brand knowledge includes brand awareness and brand image (Kim and Kim, 2004; Woodward, 2000). A range of drivers such as physical, functional and emotional brand attributes (Biel, 1992; Kotler, 2006; Kotler and Keller, 2006; Plummer, 2000); brand personality characteristics (Aaker, 1997; Aaker, 1999); nostalgic experiences (Goulding, 1999; Sierra and McQuitty, 2007) and brand heritage (Aaker, 1996; Batra and Homer, 2004; Plummer, 2000; Simms and Trott, 2006) assist formulation of the brand image in consumer memory. These brand associations may be stored in consumer memory in two ways. Consumers may only ‘know’ about the brand. In other words, they may be aware that these brands exist in the market place, its attributes, benefits and detriments, which are essentially factual information about brands and this information is primarily stored in the semantic memory. In parallel, brand-related personal experiences may be stored as episodes in AM with contextual and affective details which is conceptualised as BRAM.

As the nature of brand information (i.e. brand knowledge in SM and brand – related episodes in AM) is stored and activated in SM and AM varies considerably, these distinctive memory systems may have different behavioural implications in maintaining brand relationships and commitment.

**Brand Relationships and Commitment**
As Lye (2002) suggested, marketing mix is the base for relationship development. Brands as relationship partners have evolved recently because primarily brands were considered as
transaction tools (Gronroos, 1996). When consumers develop their knowledge and feelings about brands, this affects their future brand evaluation (Aaker and Keller, 1990). Fournier (1995) posited that a brand can be treated as an active contributing partner in a dyadic relationship that exists between the person and the brand. O’Loughlin et al. (2004) contends that positive brand and personal interaction are central to successful brand relationships and this can be a financial, physical or emotional bond that brings both the seller and buyers together (Schultz and Schultz, 2004). Consumers build brand relationships (Fournier and Yeo, 1997; Fournier, 1998; Pawle and Cooper, 2006) and depending on the brand personality, the relationship strength differs (Aaker et al., 2004). Although application of exchange and communal relationship norms in assessing brands is common in consumer studies (Clark et al., 1986; Esch and Langner, 2006; Aggarwal, 2004), Fournier (1998) discovered fifteen types of brand relationships on seven dimensions; voluntary versus imposed, positive versus negative, intense versus superficial (causal), long-term versus short-term, public versus private, formal (task related) versus informal (personal) and symmetric versus asymmetric. This brand relationship is a powerful means of brand commitment. As a concept gaining increasing importance in consumer behaviour (Martin and Goodell, 1991), until recently, the brand commitment was viewed as a behavioural phenomenon and in the same way as brand loyalty. With this narrow conceptualisation, the brand commitment was defined as “the proportion of total purchases within a given product category devoted to the most frequently purchased brand” (Jacoby and Chesnut, 1978, p. 35) or the consistency of purchasing a specific brand (Engel and Blackwell, 1982). However, Warrington and Shim (2000) differentiated brand commitment and brand loyalty based on both behavioural and attitudinal concepts. Brand commitment reflects the degree to which a brand is firmly established as the only acceptable choice within such a product class (Traylor, 1981) while brand loyalty is viewed from a behavioural perspective (Assael, 1998) of repeat purchase. Using this perspective or placing both cognitive and affective components, Lastovicka and Gardner (1979) defined brand commitment as an emotional or psychological attachment to a brand within a product class.

As brand information can be stored in both SM and AM, when brand experiences are recollected, different brain regions related to SM and AM will be activated physiologically. Specifically brand-related affective-laden episodes may process in the areas of AM activation and factual brand knowledge in the areas of SM activation which may have different behavioural responses towards brand preference, brand commitment or brand relationships. In particular, brand-related personal episodes recollected from AM is predicted to have a strong impact towards brand commitment than brand information recollected from SM due to a number of reasons; AM are strongly personal and self-relevant, affect-laden and a key to relationship development and maintenance (Conway and Tacchi, 1996; Markowitz, 2003 Alea and Bluck, 2003). Therefore, we propose that brand-related autobiographical memories (BRAM) stored in the regions of AM and recollected may have strong influence towards brand relationships and brand relationship. As this phenomenon has not been explored before, the study aims to discover how brands exist in AM in comparison to the SM and its influence towards brand relationships and commitment.

**METHODOLOGY**

**Study Design and Data Collection**

As discovery-oriented project goals dictate the use of phenomenological interviewing over more structured approaches to inquiry (Fournier, 1988), a qualitative approach has been taken. The approach adapted to access conscious and subconscious memories comply with the guidelines posited by Shank and Johnstone (1999) and Adaval and Wyer (1998). Allowing
people to tell about their experiences as they process and store information as narratives was better suited in the study for broader understanding of how consumer personal experiences are remembered in memory and to establish brand connotations. Twenty two qualitative interviews were conducted to explore brand relationships in BRAM. The sample selected included informants with diverse characteristics. Both male and female respondents who are in different life situations, transitions, ethnicities, age groups, occupations and educational backgrounds participated in the study. The major criteria for selecting the sample was that the participants have to be a brand consumer at any point of their life time and thus the demographic spread in the sample does not have a significant impact on findings. The sample profile is shown in table 1;

Table 1: Sample Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Age groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>British – White</td>
<td>20 -30 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>British – Black</td>
<td>31 – 45 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British – Asian</td>
<td>46 – 75 yrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On average, informants were interviewed between 35 - 90 minutes. Respondents were solicited through personal contacts of researchers and purposively selected to maximise chances of uncovering insights on brand-associated personal memories. All interviews and analyses were conducted by authors to permit the consistency and holistic perspective required in the method.

Interviews were designed to capture a first person description of their brand- related personal memories during their life history and brand commitment implications. Although sixteen brands were selected to probe brand-related memories based on criteria such as popularity in UK, involvement, brand history and nostalgic experiences, respondents were free discuss any other brand they remember. They were asked to recall their strongest personal memories in the past and to describe any of these memories related to a brand. The aim was to discover, how well they remember brand relationships in BRAM and its influence in brand commitment decisions. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner and constant probing facilitated to uncover important insights related to BRAM. All interviews were conducted following the guidelines of Dana et al (1992) and Kvale (1996).

**Data Analysis**

A number of methods were employed to ensure rigor in analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and general procedures of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) were followed in data analysis. Data were transcribed verbatim as soon as the interviews were completed (Silverman, 2000). QSR Nvivo was utilised to organise and code the transcripts following a meaning condensation and categorisation approach (Kvale, 1996). Although a prior structure was set down, emergent themes were free to evolve. Therefore the coding strategy was somewhere between an inductive and confirmatory approach. Transcripts were analysed to identify brand-related SM and AM, BRSM/BRAM and type of brand relationships (Fournier, 1998) and then explored the potential for brand commitment. This process was done by using the selected coding procedure (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Interviews with informants are interpreted below. Initially, brand memories that are semantic and autobiographical in nature were identified, then BRAM was identified in terms of brand relationship types and finally the relationship between BRSM/BRAM and brand commitment implications are discussed. Descriptive analysis of relationships is sought throughout these memory episodes in arriving at findings.

*Brands exist in AM and SM*
BRSM and BRAM were distinguished based on the content of reported brand-related memories. Brand knowledge (Kim and Kim 2004; Woodward 2000) expressed in terms of brand benefits and characteristics are identified as BRSM while brand-related episodes that are contextually detailed, vivid and affective are considered as BRAM (Rubin et al., 2003; Baumgartner et al., 1992). Table 2 shows brands exist in SM and AM.

Table 2: Brands exist in AM and SM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand information exist in SM</th>
<th>Brand episodes exist in AM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addidas</td>
<td>“I like buying Addidas because of the good quality”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audi</td>
<td>“The reliability of Audi, because it’s German made, more robust and prestigious”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterstones</td>
<td><strong>“Our trip every month</strong>: My dad used to take us to the Centre of London. It is an exciting trip to get on the tube and go to Central London and go to Waterstone’s. We used to go on a Saturday. We loved Lady bird stuff, books from Waterstones. I always go to Waterstone’s and definitely will continue. I think it is an emotional attachment.”**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body shop</td>
<td>“The body shop is the brand that I buy all my makeup, purely because its’ all high quality and organic and I’ve got sensitive skin as well. Again, one year, when I was on holiday, my skin flamed, they’ve got a body shop at Gatwick airport and my mum bought me a nice foundation from there and it never affected my skin.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Brand relationships exist in BRAM**
We used Fournier’s (1998) brand relationship framework to study brand relationship types in BRAM and BRSM (see appendix 1 for types of relationships). As predicted, brand experiences recollected from SM did not reveal any brand relationship type. However, from fifteen brand relationships Fournier discussed, nine brand relationships were reported by respondents in the study by recollecting AM episodes. Table 3 demonstrates brands and relationships retained and retrieved in BRAM. These relationships are essentially long lasting and affective. However, ‘arranged marriages’ and ‘buddies’ are low affective relationships discovered in BRAM. Importantly, majority of brand relationships discovered were identified as ‘childhood friendships’ and ‘kinships’. In contrast, six relationship types; avoidance driven relationships, courtships, flings, enmities, secret affairs and enslavements were not revealed by respondents. This may be due the nature of relationships which are not within the boundaries of BRAM in terms of endurance and affect. Because ‘flings’ and ‘courtships’ are short-term; ‘avoidance driven’, ‘enmities’ and ‘enslavement’ relationships are avoidance driven or associated with negative feelings and ‘secret affairs’ are privately held relationships which are not expressed publicly, these memories may not retain in BRAM.

Table 3: Brand relationships discovered in BRAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand relationship type</th>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>BRAM</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Causal Friends/Buddies</td>
<td>Rod and Horror saddle soap</td>
<td>Cleaning the saddle since a child.</td>
<td><em>I had a Pony back then and we used to use special brand of saddle soap to clean the Saddle, ‘Rod and Horror’. This is associated with going to horse shows and competing.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Marriages of convenience</td>
<td>Mark &amp; Spencer</td>
<td>Weekly grocery shopping.</td>
<td><em>When I was with mum in Newcastle, I always used to go to Sainsbury’s. But ever since I came to Coventry, it’s always Mark and Spencer’s.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. **Committed partnerships**
   - **Brand**: Samsung Television
   - **Activity**: Attending an overseas conference in Africa.
   - **Quote**: Once an advert had a really funny effect on me. You know I was in Africa, went for a conference, I was driving to the hotel from the airport. There was a big billboard, ‘Samsung, Cristal Clear’. This had a very good effect on me. It was presented in sky blue, Cristal. It was very simple. When I checked into the hotel and the TV in my hotel room was Samsung. The pictures were coming very bright and nice.

5. **Best friendships**
   - **Brand**: Nike shoes
   - **Activity**: First Birthday gift from wife.
   - **Quote**: My wife bought me as a Birthday present, in 2004 August. It was Nike. Shoes wise, this is the most favourite, comfortable brand I ever had.

6. **Compartmentalised friendships**
   - **Brand**: Body shop make ups
   - **Activity**: Was on holiday and got a flamed skin.
   - **Quote**: The body shop is the brand that I buy all my makeup, purely because it’s all high quality and organic and I’ve got a sensitive skin as well. In one year, when I was on holiday, my skin flamed, they’ve got a body shop at Gatwick airport and my mum bought me a nice foundation from there and it never affected my skin.

7. **Kinships**
   - **Brand**: Mercedes cars
   - **Activity**: Having the same brand as the family car.
   - **Quote**: Mercedes cars were actually pretty much in our family. I actually loved it so much. This has affected me a lot.

8. **Childhood friendships**
   - **Brand**: Waterstones
   - **Activity**: Waterstone’s Saturday in London
   - **Quote**: My dad used to take us to the Centre of London every month. It is an exciting trip. We always used to go to Waterstones to get books.

9. **Dependencies**
   - **Brand**: Colgate
   - **Activity**: Cleaning teeth and seeking for the ring of confidence
   - **Quote**: I was probably about 5 years. I can remember my sister finding me in the bathroom cleaning my teeth with Colgate toothpaste for the ring of Confidence.

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**BRSM and brand commitment**

Although BRSM have reported positive brand attitude and purchase intention, brand commitment was not directly revealed for any brand. Following quotes demonstrates the scenario.

- “I like to use both Dove and Johnson & Johnson because they are quite mild”.
- “I quite like to buy Colgate as they’ve got a broad range”.

**Brand relationships in BRAM and brand commitment**

When investigated the brand commitment implications of relationships, seven brand relationships reported brand commitment while two relationships reported no commitment. High brand commitment was shown for brands associated with effectively -laden memories while no commitment was shown in brands without an emotional attachment. Table 4 explains the brand commitment levels of different relationships.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand relationship type</th>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Brand Commitment (Quote)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arranged Marriages</td>
<td>Levis</td>
<td>No commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Causal Friends/Buddies</td>
<td>Rod and Horror</td>
<td>No commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Marriages of convenience</td>
<td>Reynolds</td>
<td>Now it is available and it is still my best choice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Committed partnerships</td>
<td>Samsung</td>
<td>Since then, I was going for Samsung.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The overall objective of this study was to investigate how brand-related information exists in AM and SM has influenced on brand relationships and commitment. It is clear from the findings that brand memories recollected from SM do not have a direct impact towards brand relationships while BRAM has a strong influence towards the same. Results of BRAM evidence that brand relationships that are short-term and negatively-laden are not retained in BRAM where as relationships that are long-term and affectively (positively)-laden do exist. This is in consistent with the findings that AM is a long term memory system (Tulving and Markowitsch, 2003) and affectively-laden (Welzer and Markowitsch, 2005). Importantly, brands exist in AM that have affective-laden brand relationships predict a strong brand commitment.

The research has implications for both the brand management and consumer behaviour research. First, the study identifies the importance of AM as a discrete self-defining memory system to consumer behaviour because the key social function of AM is relationship development and maintenance and it is apparent that BRAM facilitates the consumer socialisation and decision-making process. Second, results of the study enhances our understanding of how various memory systems influence brand decisions and nature of brand relationships that result in strong brand commitment. These findings provide a deeper insight as to why consumers respond in different ways to the same brand because, based on how they perceive their brand experience, brand memories will be stored distinctively in different memory systems. Third, this work could advance previous research on consumer learning because the credibility of self-directed learning and the vividness of personal experiences can be considered as a powerful tool in a winning branding strategy. Fourth, the relationship metaphor provides an opportunity to explore how consumers relate to their brand memories as understanding consumer-brand interaction process may be complex.

The study further indicates the importance of contextual information and emotional responses on brand choice in addition to the brand knowledge. From a managerial perspective, understanding the diversity and nature of relationships is important for brand success and application of BRAM enables to identify information inputs (e.g. brand associated memory events, emotions) to design an appropriate message content in order to promote long-lasting brand relationships.

There are limitations to our approach, some of which are inherent to the methods and to the context. The use of a convenience sample and the sample size of twenty-two may limit the generalisability of the results of the study. As the investigation was limited to analysis of word expressions rather than the use of more sophisticated techniques, future work could follow a deductive approach with experimental procedures such as physiological measures for more accuracy and rigor.
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### Types of brand relationships (Fournier, S. 1998:p. 362)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIONSHIP FORM</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arranged Marriages</td>
<td>Non-voluntary union imposed by preferences of third party. Intended for long-term, exclusive commitment, although at low levels of affective attachment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Causal Friends/Buddies</td>
<td>Friendship low in affect and intimacy, characterised by infrequent or sporadic engagement, and few expectations for reciprocity or reward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Committed partnerships</td>
<td>Long-term, voluntarily imposed, socially supported union high in love, intimacy, trust and a commitment to stay together despite adverse circumstances. Adherence to exclusively rules expected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Best friendships</td>
<td>Voluntary union based on reciprocity principle, the endurance of which is ensured through continued provision of positive rewards. Characterised by revelation of true self, honesty, and intimacy. Congruity in partner images and personal interests in common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Compartmentalised friendships</td>
<td>Highly specialised, situationally confined, enduring friendship characterised by lower intimacy than other friendship forms but higher socio-emotional rewards and interdependence. Easy entry and exit attained.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kinships</td>
<td>Non-voluntary union with lineage ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rebounds/avoidance driven relationships</td>
<td>Union precipitated by desire to move away from prior or available partner, as opposed to attraction to chosen partner per se.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Courtships</td>
<td>Interim relationships state on the road to committed partnership contract.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Dependencies</td>
<td>Obsessive, high emotional, selfish attractions cemented by feeling that the other is irreplaceable. Separation from other yields anxiety. High tolerance of other’s transgressions results.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Flings</td>
<td>Short-term, time bounded engagements of high emotional reward, but devoid of commitment and reciprocity demands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Enmities</td>
<td>Intensely involving relationships characterised by negative affect and desire to avoid or inflict pain on the other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Secret affairs</td>
<td>Highly emotive, privately help relationship considered risky of exposed to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Enslavements</td>
<td>Non-voluntary union governed entirely by desires of the relationship partner. Involved negative feelings but persists because of circumstances.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>